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882 593 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 593 576 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the [295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively [577] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to ● 884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service, 593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to 576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he 295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son [901] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.

[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[1] of fully adult but unmarried [577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion. [558] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[1] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative
624 role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on this common stock according to the needs of his status and situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother. It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the family property ought to occur before all the daughters have been married with dowries which represent their share of the commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.

The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

We can see from these facts that in principle the father and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 [831] Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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these qualities he also possesses the necessary physical attributes a young Sarakatsanos can fairly claim to be λεβέντης και παλληκάρι. The first of these terms is perhaps the more composite, describing a youth who is handsome, manly, narrow-hipped, and nimble; such a youth will distinguish himself at a wedding by his upright carriage, restrained manner towards his elders, and his agility in the dance. Παλληκάρι is rather the hero warrior with physical strength and assertive courage who is prepared to die, if necessary, for the honour of his family or his country. Caution must always be foreign to his nature.

It is also said that the young shepherd is free and independent. This does not indicate a freedom from social obligation that permits the indulgence of individual fancy. On the contrary, it means an independence from the cares and duties of a married head of family that frees the young unmarried man to give all his thoughts to the defence and vindication of personal and family honour. A head of family must consider what will happen to his wife and children if through involvement in some affair of honour he is killed or thrown into prison.

Since it is only in the years before he assumes the practical responsibilities of parenthood that a man is both innocent of the sexuality of woman and free to model his actions without compromise according to the ideal pattern of honour, these years of youthful manhood (τὰ νιᾶτα) represent for the Sarakatsani a time of perfected manliness when a man reaches as high a point of moral refinement as the human condition will normally allow. Speaking of his youngest unmarried brother Elias, Demetrios Carvounis explained that he, as leader of his family in a world where the majority of men are without love of honour, was forced from time to time to acts which his conscience did not approve. One day it might be necessary for him to go into court, place his hand on the Holy Bible, and swear falsely to save a member of his family, or his stani, from a crippling fine. Another day he must forgo his natural pride and obsequiously seek the aid of some Government servant. Deceit and lies are always needed in his work. On the other hand Elias was every day with the sheep on the high ridges in the clean mountain air, alone or with a single trusted comrade. Evil could not touch Elias in the same way.

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884 882 156 579 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] [411] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 579 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορτόδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

156 884 577 761 [765]

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

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156 884 577 761 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 577 885 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family. Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possess. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 885 577 425 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company', has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures, he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 885 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The [794] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age [561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect [286] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested [594] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sarakatsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil.

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of

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sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.